

THE
L I F E
O F
H O R A C E,
WITH
Dr. BENTLEY'S
P R E F A C E,
Latin and English.

*Persons profess no greater, or it may be they will
say, less Veneration for the sacred Hymns,
than for the profane Songs of Anacreon or
Horace.*

Bentley's first Sermon at Boyle's Lecture, p. 1.

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T H E
L I F E
O F
H O R A C E.

Written by *Suetonius.*



HORACE was of *Venusum*, and, as he says himself, Son of a Free-Man, who had been a Collector of Taxes; but he was thought to have been the Son of one who dealt in Puddings and Sausages, because a certain Person one Day scolding at him, said to him, *How often have I seen your Father wipe his Nose with his Elbow?* In the *Philippick* War, *Brutus* drew him into his Party, and made him a Tribune in his Army. After the Defeat of that Army, he bought the Secretary of the Exchequer's Place. The first thing he aspir'd to was to get into the good Graces of *Maecenas*, which he soon obtain'd; and

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and then he insinuated himself into the Favour of *Augustus*, and ever after had a considerable place in the Heart of that Prince, and in that of his chief Minister. The Friendship which this Favourite had for him, abundantly appears in these Verses: * *My dear Horace, if I don't already Love you, as much as I do my own Bowels, I wish you may see me as dry and wither'd as Hinnius.* But his Affection for him appears yet more in that little Sentence which he wrote to *Augustus* when he was on his Death-Bed: *I conjure you to be as mindful of Horace as of me.* *Augustus* offer'd him the Secretaryship, and wrote to *Maecenas* to that Effect, in the following Words: *Hitherto I have been able, without the Assistance of any Person, to write to my Friends; but being now overwhelm'd with the weight of Business and Infirmities, I wish you would bring your Horace to me. He will then leave your Table, where he is only a Parasite, to come to my Royal Table, and will help me to write my Letters.* He was not in the least displeas'd at *Horace's* refusing this Office, but continu'd to be his Friend as much as ever. There are some of his Letters yet extant, which are a sufficient Proof of this, out of which I have taken what follows: *Prithee take some Liberty with me, as if you were my constant Guest, and don't be afraid of offending me: For you know very well,*

A 2 that

* *Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus jam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
Hinnio me videas strigiosorem.*

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that I wish you would live with me in this manner, if your Health could permit. And in another Letter; Our Friend Septimius can inform you after what manner I remember you; for I happen'd to speak of you before him. Altho' you were so proud as to despise my Friendship, yet I do not return your Contempt of it by a reciprocal Contempt. Besides, in other Letters, he raillies him, calling him the little Debauchee, and the very agreeable little Droll. On two different Occasions he made him very rich Presents; he lik'd his Verses so well, and was so much perswaded that they would come down to the latest Posterity, that he not only order'd him to compose the Carmen Saeculare, but likewise to sing the Victory of Tiberius and Drusus, and oblig'd him, for this Reason, to add a Fourth Book to the other three which he had publish'd a long time before. And after he had read some of his Sermones, he was offended that he had made no mention of him, and complain'd of it in these Terms: I would have you know that I am angry with you, that in most of your Writings you don't address to me. Do you apprehend that one Day it will be a blemish upon your Reputation, to be thought to have been one of my Friends? And by this he drew from him the Eclogue which begins thus: Since you alone, Augustus, sustain the weight of so many great and important Affairs, since you defend this Empire by your Arms, since you reform it by your Laws, and adorn it with good Manners, I should sin against the Publick, if I trespass'd upon your precious Minutes

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nutes by a long Discourse. He was little and plump, as he says of himself in his Satires, and as *Augustus* says of him in this Letter: *Dionysius brought me your little Book, and such as it is, (not to complain of its brevity) 'tis very acceptable to me. You seem to be afraid lest your Books should be bigger than your self; but what you want in Stature you have in Plumpness; and nothing hinders but that you may write in a little Box, for your Book and you are much of a Size, and is, like your Belly, very thick.* He spent most of his Time in his little Country House, in the Country of *Sabinum*, or *Tibur*, and his House is yet to be seen near the Grove of *Tiburnus*. Some Elegies under his Name have come to my Hands, and an Epistle in Prose, in which he seems to recommend the Care of his Fortune to *Maecenas*; but I am of opinion they are spurious; for the Elegies are but vulgar, and the Epistle obscure; a Fault he was never guilty of. He was born on the 8th of *December*, under the Consulship of *L. Cotta*, and *L. Torquatus*; and died in *December*, when *C. M. Censorinus*, and *C. A. Gallus* were Consuls, in his 57th Year, having nam'd *Augustus* for his Heir, his Illness not permitting him to sign a Will; he was buried at the farther end of the *Esquiline*, near the Tomb of *Maecenas*.



PRÆFATIO

A D

LECTOREM.



AUCA sunt, Lector benevole, de quibus certiore te fieri velim, priusquam Horatium meo munere, nisi fallor, meliorem nunc cultioremque in manus tibi sumseris. Cum ante aliquot annos provinciae cuidam admotus essem; ubi aliena negotia, curaeque molestissimae per caput quotidianae salientes, severiora omnia studia de manibus mihi excusserant: constitui mecum, ne Musarum me amorumque veterum oblivio prorsus caperet, ameniorem quempiam Scriptorem edendum mihi sumere, levioris operae materiaeque, quae animum tranquillum & defaecatum non tam requireret, quam efficeret: quaeque horis subcivis edolari, & mille interpellationes sine gravi damno pati posset. Ante alios autem placuit HORATIUS; non quod in eo plu-

ra,



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Kind Reader,



BEFORE thou tak'st *Horace* into thy Hands, who is both the better and handsomer for the Pains I have bestow'd upon him, 'tis fit I acquaint thee first with a few things. Having been several Years ago advanced to a certain Post, in which Affairs foreign to my Province, and the most perplexing Cares continually distracted me, which forc'd me to lay aside all serious Studies, I resolv'd with my self, lest I should forget the Muses, and my old darling Companions, to undertake the publishing of some entertaining Author, whose Matter did not require much Pains or Thought, which rather made than call'd for a Mind perfectly easie, and free from Cares; and whose Meaning might be fish'd out at ones leisure Hours, and suffer a thousand Avocations without much Disadvantage. Of all others that I could think of, *Horace* was the Author who pleased me best; not that I expected to

ra, quam in alio fere quovis seu Latino sive Graeco, restituere me & emendare posse considerem; sed quod is omnium veterum maxime vel merito suo vel genio quodam & placendi sorte in manibus hominum pectoribusque haereret. Formam vero & institutum operis sic mihi defini vi terminisque his circumscripsi; ut ea sola attingerem, quae ad sanitatem sinceritatemque Lectionis pertinerent: cetera illa pluraque, quae ad Historiam & Mores antiquos grandem illam Commentariorum silvam & instrumentum spectarent, prorsus praeterirem. Per me quidem eruditis viris, qui in illo stadio decurrerunt, suus bonus saluus esto: utilissimam sane operam navarunt; quae, nisi ab illis occupata foret, jam nunc necessario impendenda esset de integro; sine qua additum tibi patere ad haec Nostra frustra speraveris. Sic enim se res habet: diffusa illa lectio & eruditio, veterisque totius Latii & Graeciae notitia, quae in illa studiorum materie totum constituit, in hac Nostra partis duntaxat infimae & initiorum apparatusque locum obtinet. Omnia quippe tibi ista in numerato esse prius oportet, quam de quovis Scriptore sine dementissimae temeritatis nota censuram agere audeas: est & peracri insuper iudicio opus; est sagacitate & ἀσχυροία; est, ut de Aristarcho olim praedicabant, divinandi quadam peritia & μαντική: quae nulla laborandi pertinacia vitaeve longinquitate acquiri possunt, sed naturae solius mune-

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find more room for Corrections and Emendations in him, than in any other *Greek* or *Latin* Writer; but because by his Worth, Genius, and a certain Art of pleasing, he had the good luck to charm every body more than any other of the Antients. But the Form and Design of this Work I confin'd, and circumscrib'd within these Limits; only to restore the true and genuine Reading, and not to meddle with what regarded History or Ancient Customs, that vast Furniture of Commentaries. I am not for detracting in the least from the Glory of those learned Men, who have laid out their Study this way, and whose Labours in this respect have been very useful. We must have begun there, unless they had already prevented us; and it would have been in vain to expect what we now offer, unless they had first cleared the way. The whole matter stands thus: That extensive Reading and Erudition, and the Knowledge of both the *Roman* and *Greek* Literature, which comprehends the whole of that kind of Studies, deserve to be esteem'd only as the meanest Part, and as the Beginnings and Rudiments of our Performance. For you must first be Master of all these, before you can pretend to judge of any Author, unless you would be guilty of the highest Presumption. Besides, one must have a very accurate and piercing Judgment, a Sagacity and Acuteness, and as was said of *Aristarchus* of old, a certain *Μαρίκην*, and Skill in Divining; which can never be acquir'd by the utmost Industry, or length of Time, but are owing to the Bounty of Nature, and the Felicity

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re nascendique felicitate contingunt. Inde est, quod, cum in ceteris disciplinis eventus laboribus votisque respondeat; contra in hac Critices palaestra, ex tam multis, qui libris studiisque invenerunt, exstiterunt oppido pauci, qui speratum sibi apud posteros nomen nancisci valuerunt. Et tamen, ne id forte nescias, longe longeque difficilius est hodie, quam superioribus erat annis, emendationes conscribere. Ita omnia illa, quae ex scriptorum Codicum collatione clare & ultimo se ingerebant, praerepta jam sunt & antipata: neque quidquam fere residuum est, nisi quod ex intima sententiae vi & orationis indole solius ingenii ope sit eruendum. Plura igitur in Horatianis his curis ex conjectura exhibemus, quam ex Codicum subsidio; &, nisi me omnia fallunt, plerumque certiora: nam in variis Lectionibus ipsa saepe auctoritas illudit, & pravae emendaturientium prurigini abblanditur; in conjecturis vero contra omnium Librorum fidem proponendis & timor pudorque aurem vellunt, & sola ratio ac sententiarum lux necessitasque ipsa dominantur. Quid quod, si ex uno alterove Codice discrepantem aliis scripturam expromas, frustra es si unico duobusve testibus adversus centum fidem facere postulas; nisi tot argumentis muni-

city of Birth. And this is the Reason, that in other Studies the Fruits are answerable to the Hopes and Pains bestow'd upon them; whereas, in the School of Criticism there have been so very few among the many who have spent their whole Life, and grown grey in Reading and Meditation, that have been able to acquire Fame, by engaging in this difficult Task. Nor would I have you ignorant, that it is infinitely more difficult now, than it was in former times, to write Emendations. Every thing that was clear and obvious upon collating Manuscripts, has been already observed and anticipated; and there is scarce any thing left for us to do, but to beat our Brains, in order to squeeze out a conceal'd Meaning, and enter into the Genius of an Author. Therefore in these our Labours upon *Horace*, a great deal more is owing to Conjecture, than to the Assistance of Books; and, if I mistake not, what arises from Conjecture is much more certain than what is founded upon the Authority of any Books; for in various Readings the very Authority often imposes upon, and flatters the depraved Itch of your pitiful Emendators; whereas both Fear and Shame put us upon our guard, and make us cautious how we advance our own Conjectures against the Faith of all Books; and Reason alone, the Evidence of the Sense, and pure Necessity govern us in this matter. Certainly, if you produce a Reading out of one or two Books, which differ from others, you are to be condemn'd if you prefer the Testimony of one or two Witnesses to that of a hundred,
unless

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muniveris, quæ vel sola pene sine Codicis testimonio ei rei probandæ sufficere possint. Noli itaque Librarios solos venerari: sed per te sapere aude, ut singula ad orationis ductum sermonisque genium exigens ita demum pronunties sententiamque feras. Enimvero haud animi me fallit, tot in Flacco emendationes iniquis oculis plerisque aspecturos, nec nisi vi & ingratis receptas tam diu lectiones veteresque avias sibi revelli passuros. Quippe in aliis auctoribus minus sibi tritis pro libitu id fieri non aegre tulerint; in hoc, quem jam inde a pueritia dies noctesque versarunt, quemque intus & in cate se novisse opinati sunt, tot jam menda detegi, tot absurda sensusque cassa redargui, quasi conviciam sibi factum interpretabuntur. Horum ego ut praejudicio & ἀνδολῆν occurrerem; fuse pleraque & prolixè præter morem meum in adnotationibus deduxi: ut vel indignantes ac reluctantes cum rationum pondere tum exemplorum numero obruerem, inque meam tandem sententiam vel obtorto eos collo traherem. Hoc rogo in memoria habeat eruditior Lector & acutior; siquando forte, cum duobus verbis rem pervinci potuisse putet, ex longo tractu

unless you can strengthen it with such Arguments, as wou'd of themselves be sufficient to prove the Matter in question, almost without the help of Books. I wou'd not therefore have you pay a blind Veneration to Dealers in Books alone; but dare to think for your self, that so you may at length be able to pronounce, and give your Opinion, after having examin'd every thing according to the Thread of the Discourse, and the Nature of the Subject. I am well appriz'd, that a great many will look upon my E-mendations on *Horace* with an evil Eye, and will very hardly part with antient Mistakes, and Readings so long receiv'd. However Passive they may be in the case of other Authors, with whom they have not made so familiar an Acquaintance, yet they will look upon it as an Affront design'd against them, when they find so many Faults detected, so many absurd and senseless things condemn'd in one whom they have turn'd over Night and Day, and whom they believ'd they perfectly understood. In order to remove the Prejudice and Wavering of these Men, I have, contrary to my wonted Custom, explain'd many Things at great length in my Annotations, that so I might bear down even the most stubborn and backward, both with the weight of Reasons, and the number of Examples, and drag them into my Opinion in spite of their Teeth. I desire one Favour of my learned and clear-sighted Reader, That after, perhaps, he is weary with reading a long String of Annotations, he may not imagine

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tractu adnotationis fastidium eum ceperit. Non raro tamen etiam data opera brevior contractiorque fui; partim taedio ut fieri solet furtim obrepente, partim consulto viribus parcens & quae in promptu mihi erant opes dissimulans: ut ne ubique iudiciis hominum diffidere viderer, utque stolidi & ad depugnandum parati se in laqueos inopinantes induerent, risum jocumque nasutioribus daturi. Qualiacumque vero haec sunt, aestivis tantum mensibus (ita tamen ut uno alteroque biennio fuerint prorsus intermissa) & primo impetu ac calore sine lima curisve secundis descripta, sic madida fere charta (ut nemini hic meorum non compertissimum est) ad typographos defererantur. Neque enim aut animus aut otium erat calamistris illa inurere; nec tanti emerim jejunam illam obscurae diligentiae laudem; ac pudebat praeterea nugis calamiq̃ue lusibus pondus velle addere, & ἐνὶ φανὶ quod αἰντ μὲν; sic tamen, uti spero, ut nec sermonis puritatem, nec ordinis lumen, neque rationum vim & perspicuitatem vel in his αὐτοχρῆδ'ois desideres. Porro autem, ut scias quibus opibus instructus periculosae huic me operae accinxerim; praeter vetustos illos codices Lambino, Pulmanno, Cruquio, Torrentio, Bersmanno, Statio, aliisque versatos olim & excussos, aderant & mihi Membranae veteres minime poenitendae. Vetustissimum

gine the whole Business might have been dispatched in two Words. Nevertheless, I have studied Brevity in several Places; partly thro' Weariness, which crept upon me unawares, as is usual in such cases, and partly on purpose, being willing to conceal my Strength, and hide the rich Stores I had in reserve, that I might not seem to distrust my Reader's Judgment; and that Fools and rash Assailants might fall unawares into the Snare I had laid for them, and so become the Jest and Sport of the more Sagacious. These my Labours, such as they are, were perform'd in the Summer Months (but intermitted for four whole Years) and wrought off in the first Sally and Heat, without any After-polishing, or Revising; and thus carried to the Printer's before the Paper was well dry, as is very well known to all my Friends in this Place. For I had neither Leisure nor Inclination to flourish and make any Figure in this Work; nor was I willing to pay so dear for that empty Praise of obscure Diligence; besides, I was ashamed to seem to have made a Burden of the Bagatelles and Play of my Pen, and as they say *ἐπὶ βαρὺ μύρον*. Nevertheless, I hope, that in these hasty Sheets there is neither wanting Purity of Language, nor Light of Order, nor Force and Perspicuity of Arguments. Moreover, that the Reader may understand with what Helps I was enabled to go thro' with this difficult Work; besides those Ancient Copies which *Lambinus*, *Pulmannus*, *Cruquius*, *Torrentius*, *Bersmannus*, *Stattius*, and others made use of, I had likewise very good Ancient

Manu-

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mum sane exemplar annorum facile DCCC, cui tamen Epistolarum & Sermonum pars magna deerat, suppeditavit & huc transmisit praestantissimus Graevius ὁ μακρότερος; post cujus obitum in Bibliothecam Serenissimi Electoris Palatini cum reliqua ejus libraria supellectile concessit. Alterum supparis aetatis in Bibl. Leidensi contulerat ὁ κεινότερος & Nicolaus Heinsius, ut & Zulichemianum annorum DC: quorum varias lectiones descriptas manu Heinsii, conjecturis quoque ejus identidem interpositis, disertissimi Viri Petri Burmanni comitate nactus sum. Vossiani, prioribus illis optimis non inferioris, & Markiani qui Epistolas modo habet, lectiones serius paulo in manus venerunt, opera eruditi juvenis Abrahami Franckii in Batavia descriptae. Ex Britannicis, quos omnes ipsi oculis usurpavimus, palmam facile aufert Codex Collegii Reginensis Oxonii, DCC annorum & ab omni parte integer: post hunc Liber e Bibliotheca Regiae Societatis Londini, alter Petrensis Domus Cantabrigiae, tertius Collegii Magdalenensis Oxonii, quartus Viri ornatissimi Rogeri Galei, quintus Reverendi admodum Episcopi Eliensis, qui sub initiis Typographiae scriptus est eadem plane manu ac alter e Collegio Regio Cantabrigiae, qui falso praeconio Bembinus venditatur. Praeter hos & alii plures accesserunt, qui partem tantummodo Horatianorum operum

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Manuscripts. The most excellent *Gravius* sent over to me a most Ancient MS, at least 800 Years old, but which wanted most of the Epistles and *Sermones*, which (after his Death) with the rest of his Books, was given to the most Serene, the *Electoꝛ Palatine's* Library. That excellent Critic, *Nicolas Heinsius*, furnished me with another of about the same Age out of the *Leyden* Library; as likewise with one from *Zu- lechheim* 600 Years old; the various Readings of which, written with *Heinsius's* own Hand, and his interspers'd Notes, that excellent Critic *Peter Burman* was pleased to communicate to me. I afterwards receiv'd the various Readings of *Vossius's* Copy, which is not inferior to any of the former, and Mr. *Mark's*, which contains only the Epistles, both wrote by that learned young Man *Abraham Franck* in *Holland*. Of those that are in *Britain*, (all which I have perused) that which belongs to *Queen's College* in *Oxford* is undoubtedly the best, which is 700 Years old, and perfectly compleat; next to this is the Book in the Library of the Royal Society at *London*, that in *Peter House* in *Cambridge*, a third in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, a fourth belonging to the learned *Roger Gale*, a fifth belonging to the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Ely*, wrote about the beginning of Printing, written by the same Hand with another in *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, which is falsely ascrib'd to *Bembus*. Besides these, I likewise had the use of many others, which contain'd only a Part of *Horace's* Works; as that which be-

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long'd

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operum continebant; Battelianus, ex Museo Cl. Joannis Battely Archidiaconi nuper Cantuariensis, cui Epistolae omnes, & Sermones aliquot libri IIdi desunt; alter e Bibliotheca Regia, Sermones & Epistolas Artemque complexus, cui plane geminus est ab eodem Librario descriptus in Collegio Magdalenensi Oxonii. Eadem fere habent tria exemplaria ex Collegio nostro S. Trinitatis; Carmina vero & Epodos Bodleiani duo & Vigorniensis; Artem autem Poeticam Vigorniensis alter & Digbeanus Oxonii, & Moreti liber a Nic. Heinsio olim collatus. Porro etiam vidimus, quas e Codice Colbertino Lutetiae varias exscripserat lectiones vir celeberrimus Edvardus Bernardus, & e Franekerano nescio quis; verum uterque pauculas tantum & leviori cura. Hos omnes manu exaratos Codices, quos seu ipsi excussimus, sive amicorum beneficio nunc primum literato orbi exhibemus, Nostrorum subinde vocabulo indicamus, ut & aliis editoribus sollemne est: quod ideo hic monendum erat, ne cavillator aliquis cornicum hic oculos gestiat configere. Neque vero Editiones vetustas omniumque principes negligendas mihi existimavi, Venetam anni MCCCCLXXVIII, & Argentinensem Jacobi Locher poetae laureati anni MCCCXCVIII; quas Nobilissimi Viri CAROLI Sunderlandiae Comitiss instruetissima bibliotheca mihi suppeditavit; quarumque haec non ex exemplaribus Italis jamdudum editis,

long'd to the famous *John Battely*, sometime Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, which wants all the Epistles, and some of the *Sermones* of the 2d Book ; and another in the *Queen's Library*, containing all the *Sermones* and Epistles, a perfect Copy of which wrote by the same Hand is in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. There are three Copies in our *Trinity College* which contain the same things ; and the two *Bodleian* and that at *Worcester* have the *Carmina* and the *Epodes* ; but another at *Worcester*, and the *Digbean* at *Oxford*, and *Moretus's* formerly collated by *Nic. Heinsius*, contain the *Ars Poetica*. I have likewise seen the various Readings which *Edward Bernard* wrote from the *Colbertine* Copy at *Paris*, and those which I know not who wrote from that of *Franeker*. All these MS Copies, which I have either examin'd my self, or which I now present to the World for the first time by the Assistance of my Friends, I from henceforth call *Mine*, agreeably to the manner of other Editors ; which I thought proper to advertise in this place, lest some Caviller should endeavour to take an Advantage of me. Nor did I think the Antient Editions, and which of all others are the best, were to be neglected, especially the *Venetian* of the Year 1473, and the *Argentine* of *James Locher*, Poet-Laureat, of the Year 1498 ; both which I had out of the choice and vast Library of the most noble CHARLES Earl of *Sunderland* ; and the last of which was not Printed from the *Italian* Editions published a long time

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editis, sed ex manuscriptis Germanicis expressa est. Accesserunt his ex Bibliotheca Regiae Societatis, altera Veneta anni MCCCCXC, in qua prima ut opinor Scholiastae Veteres Acron & Porphyriion comparuerunt; & Acronis exemplar scriptum, quod olim erat sua aetate celeberrimi viri Billibaldi Pirckheimeri. Ceterum ubicumque vel ex codicibus vetustis vel ex ingenio sic clare verba restituimus, ut omnino in ipsum quem vocant Contextum ea recipi oporteret. ita caute & pudenter rem gessimus, ut ne minimum quidem a probatissimis editionibus deflexum nobis sit, quin receptam simul lectionem in ima pagina posuerimus; adeo ut uno lector conspectu tam novam hanc quam superiores editiones non sine magno suo commodo & voluptate contemplari queat. Ut enim stulta eorum superstitio est, qui nihil quicquam in Contextu novari volunt, manifestissimum sit licet certissimumque; ita rursus improbanda est & non ferenda aliorum fiducia, qui clam immutare quicquam & interpolare audent, neque lectorem de ea re vel verbo admonent. Cum autem prius ex his duobus Volumen, quo Poetae verba sine commentario exhibentur, diu ante typis excusum esset, quam Adnotationibus manum admoverem; vix aliter in tam ancipiti iudicii alea, cum nondum mihi omnes Codicum copiae praesto essent, evenire potuit, quam ut quasdam lectiones prioribus omnibus probatas in Contextu ferri sine-

rem,

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before, but from *German* Manuscripts. Besides these, I had out of *Gresham College* Library another *Venetian* Copy, in which I fancy appear'd the Ancient Scholiasts *Acron* and *Porphyrion*; and *Acron's* Manuscript Copy, which belong'd to *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus*, the most famous Man of his Time. But wherever I restor'd Words so clearly, either from Ancient Copies, or from my own Conjecture, that it was necessary to put them into the Context, as they call it, I always did it with so much Caution and Bashfulness, that I did not in the least vary from the most approved Editions, without putting the receiv'd Reading at the bottom of the Page; so that the Reader at one view will be able to see not only this new one, but likewise all the former Editions, to his no small Profit and Pleasure. For as their Superstition is foolish, who are against putting any thing new into the Text, tho' ever so manifest and certain; so is their Presumption to be condemn'd and disallow'd, who venture to change or interpolate any thing by Stealth, and do not make the least mention of it to the Reader. But the first of these Volumes, which contains the Words of the Poet without any Commentary, having been printed off long before I put my Hand to the Annotations; it could scarce fall out otherwise in so nice and difficult a Work, (not having been yet Master of all the Copies) but that I should admit into the Text some Readings, as being approv'd by all that had gone before me, which, after considering
the

rem, quas postea re accuratius perpensa ejectas esse cuperem; contraque novas aliquot introduce-rem, quarum postea poeniteret. Ita Carmine 111 Libri primi Siccis oculis nimium patienter tuli; *cujus loco, si res nunc integra esset, Rectis oculis sine dubitatione substituere velim: rursus, pag. 41. Aget, 118 Illos, 119 Vultu & per, 136 Porrecta, 149 Secrevit. Aere dehinc quorum, 160 Quiddam, 170 Vellunt, 172 Sermo merus, 180 Cenforque, 187 Utrasque Confusus, 201 Anni & Occupat, 217 Post vinum, 223 Romae, 224 Non mentiar, 244 Tendere, 258 Res, 264 Perdidit, 272 Sed rebus, quae nunc imum folium occupant, ad sedes suas revocari cupiam. Tantum autem abest, ut occultandum mihi hoc aut erubescendum esse credam; ut ultro etiam lectori imputem, meque vineta mea caedendo ingenui candidique hominis nomen apud aequos judices habiturum esse confidam. Porro autem Orthographiae rationem institui ad Augusti saeculi normam, quae ex Inscriptionibus, Numis, Vetustioribusque Membranis abunde constat, quamque & alii & praesertim Nic. Heinsius in Virgilio suo secutus est. Ergo praeter Volgus, Divom, Inpius, Conpesco, & cetera ejusmodi, Accusativos plurales, ubi Genitivus in lum exeunt, in Is hic terminatos habes, Urbis, Auris, Omnis: quae omnia me in antiquioribus Flacci Codicibus reperisse fide optima testari possum. Neque vero, in Poetis praesertim, dissimulari id oportuit; cum, ut ex Gellio & ali-*

liunde

the Matter maturely, I should wish had been left out; and on the other hand, that I should bring in some new ones, which I should afterwards repent. Thus in *Carmin.* III. of the first Book, I was too merciful to *Siccis oculis*; in the place of which, if I were at Liberty, I would undoubtedly substitute *Rectis Oculis*. Again, I wish I could recal to their proper places the following Words, which are at the bottom of the Page; as Pag. 41, *Aget*, 118 *Ilios*, 119 *vultu* & *per*, 136 *Porrecta*, 143 *Secrevit*. *Aere debinc quorum*, 160 *Quiddam*, 170 *vellunt*, 172 *Sermo merus*, 180 *Censorq;*, 187 *utraq;* *confusus*, 201 *Anni* & *Occupat*, 217 *Post vinum*, 223 *Romæ*, 224 *Non mentiar*, 244 *Tendere*, 258 *Res*, 264 *Perdedit*, 272 *Sed Rebus*. But I am so far from hiding this, or thinking I ought to be ashamed of it, that I refer it to the Judgment of the Reader, and hope that for so doing I shall merit the Character of a candid and ingenuous Man with all equitable Judges. Moreover, I have followed the Orthography as it was in the *Augustan* Age, which abundantly appears from Inscriptions, Medals and Ancient MSS, and which others have followed, but especially *Nicolas Heinsius*, in his *Virgil*. And therefore besides *Volgæ*, *Divom*, *Inpius*, *Conpesco*, and such like, Words which end in *ium* in the Genitive of the Plural Number, end in *is* in the Accusative Plural, such as *urbis*, *auris*, *omnis*; all which I solemnly protest I found thus written in the most Ancient Copies of *Horace*. Nor ought this to be conceal'd, especially in the Poets; since, as appears from *Gellius*, and

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liunde notum est, *judicium artificiumque scriptoris versuumque suavitas in illis terminationibus plerumque spectetur. Carminum vero, non Odarum; Sermonum, non Satirarum libros; atque in his singulos quosque Sermones Eclogas inscripsimus; & Membranarum & Grammaticorum veterum auctoritatem secuti. Eclogarum sane nomine Silvas suas appellavit Statius, Praefatione libri III & IV; quin & Flacci Epistolam Suetonius, Carmen vero Ausonius in praefatione Griphi, Eclogam nuncuparunt. Nimirum omni brevi Poematio id olim vocabulum indabatur, ut ex his Plinii constat Epist. IV, 14. Unum illud praedicendum videtur, cogitare me has nugas inscribere, HENDECASYLLABI, qui titulus sola metri lege constringitur. Proinde sive Epigrammata, sive Idyllia, sive Eclogas, sive (ut multi) Poematia, seu quod aliud appellare malueris, licebit voces: ego tantum Hendecasyllabos praesto. Porro ut Terentium ex Calliopii, Virgilium ex Asterii Cos. anno post Christum cccxciv, Valerium Maximum ex Helpidii Domnuli; ita Flaccum ex Mavortii recensione hodie habemus. Sic enim in antiquioribus Codicibus, Leidensi Reginensi aliisque, post Epodos literis majusculis scriptum fertur: VET-
TIUS AGORIUS BASILIUS MAVORTIUS V. C. ET INL. EXCOM. DOM. EXCONS. ORD. LEGI ET UT POTUI EMENDAVI. CONFERENTE MIHI MAGISTRO FELICE ORATORE URBIS ROMAE: hoc est, Vir Clarissimus & Inlustis, Excomite Domestico, Exconsule Ordinario.*

Quis

elsewhere, the Judgment and Art of the Writer, and the Sweetness of the Verses is to be seen for the most part in these Terminations. I have given to these Books the Titles of *Carminum*, not of *Odarum*; of *Sermonum*, not of *Satyrarum*; and in these last I have inscrib'd every *Sermo* an *Eclogue*, being supported by the Authority of ancient MSS and Grammarians. *Statius* called his *Sylvae* by the Name of *Eclogae*, in the Preface to the third and fourth Books; and *Suetonius* calls his *Epistles*, and *Ansonius* his *Carnuria* by the Name of *Eclogues*; for of old that was the Name of every short Poem; as appears from these Words of *Pliny*, *Epist. iv, 14. Unum illud praedicendum videtur, cogitare me has nugas inscribere, HENDECASYLLABI, 'qui titulus sola metri lege constringitur. Proinde sive Epigrammata, sive Idyllia, sive Eclogas; sive (ut multi) Poemata, seu quod aliud appellare malueris, licebit voces: ego tantum Hendecasyllabos praesto.* Moreover, as we have *Terence* revised by *Calliopius*, *Virgil* by *Asterius*, *Consul* in the Year of Christ 494. *Valerius Maximus* by *Helpidius Domnulus*; so we have *Horace* by *Mavortius*. For in the most ancient Copies, as the *Leyden*, and others, after the *Epodes* what follows is written in Capitals. VETTIUS AGORIUS BASILIUS, V. C. ET IN L. EXCOM. DOM. EXCONS. ORD. LEGI ET UT POTUI EMANDAVI. CONFERENTE MIHI MAGISTRO FELICE ORATORE URBIS ROMAE; i. e. vir Clarissimus & Inlustis, Excomite Domestico, Exconsule Ordinario. Who this *Magister Fe-*

Quis fuerit illi Magister Felix, qui eodem bi-
quo Donatus titulo honestatur Oratoris Urbis
Romae, equidem nescio: at Mavortius is ipse
est, qui Consul erat sine Collega anno post Chri-
stum DXXVII: unde Fasti egregie illustrari pos-
sunt, cum aliunde iste Mavortius nulla alia re
nisi cognomine solo innotescat. Jam vero & il-
lud monendum est, Editiones principes & recen-
tioris aetatis Codices alio ac nunc solemus ordi-
ne Artem Poeticam collocare, post Carmen nem-
pe Seculare ante Sermones & Epistolas: vetu-
stiores vero omnes Membranas post Carminum
libros Artem Epodis praepone. Si quaeris,
quisnam ex his ordo recte se habeat, seriemque
temporum, quibus singula ab auctore edita sunt,
rite conservet, vetustusne ille an medius an ho-
diernus; nullus profecto omnium. Magno qui-
dem studio & acerrima contentione post Tana-
quilli Fabri operam Clarissimi Viri Dacerius
Massonusque in hanc arenam descenderunt; quo-
rum equidem acumen & eruditionem in partibus
laudo; in operis vero summa totoque constituen-
do rem eos infelicititer admodum gessisse censeo.
Horum enim rationibus, & Carminibus & E-
podis & Sermonibus Epistolisque scribendis uno
ac eodem tempore vacavisse Nostrum necesse est;
& singula quaeque poematia separatim in vul-
gus edidisse: quorum utrumque a vero alienum
esse mihi pro comperto est. Quippe omnibus, qui
ejusmodi Poematia scripserunt, id in more erat,
ut non sparsas Eclogas, sed integros Libellos se-
mel simulque in lucem ederent. Ita Catullus
fecit,

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lix was, who is honour'd with the Title of *Orator urbis Romae*, the same that *Donatus* had, is more than I know. But *Mavortius* is the very Man, who was Consul without a Colleague in the Year of Christ 527; which gives great Light into the *Fasti*, since that *Mavortius* is not known else-where by any thing but his Sirname. Neither must I forget to acquaint the Reader, that the chief Editions, and the MSS of a later Date, place the *Ars Poetica* in another Order than we commonly do, viz. after the *Carmen Seculare*, which is before the *Sermones* and *Epistles*; but that all the ancient MSS place it after the *Carmina* and before the *Epodes*. If you ask me, which of these Orders is the best, and exactly observes the Series of the Times, in which the Author publish'd his single Pieces? Whether the ancient, the middle, or the present? I answer, That none of all these is right. Indeed the famous *Dacier* and *Masson* have strain'd hard, and contended earnestly upon this Subject, after *Tanaquil Faber*: I praise their Penetration and Erudition in Parts; But I am of Opinion that in the general and sum of the Work, they have succeeded but ill. For by their Arguments, *Horace* must have wrote his *Carmina*, *Epodes*, *Sermones* and *Epistles* at one and the same time; and publish'd every single Poem separately; both which I am very sure are perfectly false. For it was usual for those who wrote Poems of this Nature, not to publish them in scatter'd *Eclogues*, but in entire Books together at the same time. So *Catullus* did,

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fecit, ut ex Epigrammate i constat, Cui dono
 lepidum novum LIBELLUM: ita Tibullus,
 quem vide Elegia i libri tertii, v. 7 & 17. ita
 Propertius Eleg. i librorum ii, iii, & iv. ut
 & Libri ii Elegia x, v. 25. & xix, v. 39:
 ita Virgilius Bucolica dedit, uti paret ex ultimo
 illo, Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi conce-
 de laborem: ita Naso Amorum & Tristium
 & Ponticorum libros, ipso teste: ita Statius
 Silvas suas, ita Martialis Epigrammata, ut Prae-
 fationes eorum fidem faciunt: ita Persius Sati-
 ras; Phaedrus & Avienus Fabulas; Aufonius,
 Prudentius, Sidonius, Venantiusque sua Carmi-
 na; quod ex eorum Prologis abunde patet. Quid
 quaeris? Ipse quoque Horatius Libellos suos jun-
 ctim editos aperte indicat; primum Carminum
 librum ex Prologo; secundum tertiumque ex Epi-
 logis; Epodus ex illo xiv, Inceptos olim promissum
 carmen Iambos. Ad umbilicum adducere;
 Sermonum priorem librum ex versu ultimo, I puer
 atque meo citus haec subscribe LIBELLO: po-
 steriorem ex Prologo; priorem vero Epistolarum
 & ex Prologo & ex Epilogo. Quartum vero
 Carminum, & Epistolarum secundum longo post
 cetera intervallo emissos esse, plenissimum est Sue-
 tonii testimonium; quod qui aut refellere aut e-
 ludere conantur, inanem operam insumunt. His
 jam positis; primum Horatii opus statuo Sermo-
 num librum primum, quem triennio perfecit in

as appears from his first Epigram, *Cui dono Lepidum novum LIBELLUM*: So *Tibullus* in *Eleg. I. Lib. III. v. 7, & 17.* So did *Propertius*, *Eleg. I. Lib. II, III, & IV.* as also *Lib. II. Eleg. X. v. 25, & XIX. v. 39.* Thus *Virgil* publish'd his *Bucolicks*, as appears in the last, *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*: Thus did *Ovid* publish his Books *de Amoris, Tristibus & Ponticis*; thus did *Statius* publish his *Sylvae*, *Martial* his *Epigrams*, as their Prefaces testify; and thus did *Persius* publish his *Satyrs*; *Phaedrus* and *Avienus* their *Fables*; and *Ansonius*, *Prudentius*, *Sidonius*, and *Venantius* their *Verses*, as abundantly appears from their Prologues. Why shou'd you doubt of this? Even *Horace* himself openly declares, that his Books were publish'd jointly: That the first Book of his *Carmina* was thus publish'd, appears from the Prologue; that the second and third, appears from the Epilogues: The Epodes from that *XIV, Inceptos olim promissum carmen Iambos. Ad umbilicum adducere*: The first Book of the *Sermones*, from the last Verse, *I puer atque meo citus haec subscribe LIBELLO*: The last from the Prologue; and the former of the *Epistles*, both from the Prologue and the Epilogue: But that the fourth Book of the *Carmina*, and the second of the *Epistles* went abroad a long time after the rest, is fully testified by *Suetonius*, which it would be lost Labour for any Man to endeavour either to refute or elude. But to proceed: I maintain that *Horace's* first Work, was his first Book of *Sermones*, which he finish'd in the space of

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tra annos aetatis XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; postea Secundum triennio itidem, annis XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII; deinde Epodos biennio, XXXIV & XXXV; tum Carminum librum primum triennio, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII; Secundum biennio, XL, XLI; Tertiumque pariter biennio, XLII, XLIII: inde Epistolarum primum biennio, XLVI, XLVII; tum Carminum lib. quartum & Saeculare triennio, XLIX, L, LI. Postremo Artem Poeticam & Epistolarum librum alterum, annis incertis. Intra hos cancellos omnium poematum natales esse ponendos, & ex argumentis singulorum & ex Annalium fide constabit. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus & Epodis & Carminum primo, Caesar semper, nunquam Augustus dicitur; quippe qui id nomen consecutus est, anno demum Flacci XXXIX; insequentibus vero passim Augustus appellatur. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus & Epodis Juvenem se ubique indicat; & quod sola Sarrurum laude inclaruisse se dicit, ut Bucolicorum tum Virgilium (Serm. I, 10. v. 46.) nulla Lyricorum mentione facta. In ceteris autem singulis procedentis aetatis gradus planissimis signis indicat: idque tibi ex hac serie jam a me demonstrata jucundum erit animadvertere; cum operi-

bns

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three Years, viz. in the 26, 27 and 28th Years of his Age; next, the second also in the space of three Years, viz. in the 31, 32, and 33d Years of his Age; then his Epodes, in two Years, the 34 and 35th of his Age; then his first Book of *Carmina*, in three Years, the 36, 37, and 38th of his Age; the second in two Years, the 40, and 41st of his Age; the third likewise in two Years, the 42, and 43d of his Age; then the first Book of Epistles in two Years, the 46, and 47th of his Age; after this, the fourth Book of the *Carmina*, and the *Carmen Saeculare*, in three Years, the 49, 50, and 51st of his Age; and, last of all, the *Ars Poetica*, and second Book of Epistles; but in what Years is uncertain. That these are true Dates of all these Poems, will appear both from the Arguments of every one of them, and from the Faith of Annals: Hence it is, that in the *Sermones*, *Epodes*, and the first Book of the *Carmina*, the Emperor is always call'd *Caesar*, but never *Augustus*, because he obtain'd that Name in the 39th Year of *Horace's* Age; but in the following Poems he is always call'd *Augustus*. Hence it is, that in his *Sermones* and *Epodes*, he always describes himself a young Man, and that he says he was then famous only for his Satyrs, as *Virgil* was for his Bucolicks, (*Serm. I. 10. v. 45.*) without making any Mention of his Lyricks. But in every one of the rest he gives the most evident Marks of a Ripper Age. The Reader must certainly be very much pleased to observe this from the Series that I have demonstrated to him; since in his youth-

bus Juvenilibus multa obscaena & flagitiosa insint; quanto annis provectior erat, tanto cum & poetica virtute & argumentorum dignitate gravitateque meliorem castioremque semper evasisse. Ceterum ubicumque viri doctissimi extra limites hic positos in adsignandis temporibus evagantur, toties illi in errores prolabantur. Facile quidem mihi foret id in singulis ostendere; verum unum modo alterumve hic attingam, cetera tuae industriae relinquens, Libri I Carmen 21, Dianam tenerae dicite Virgines, perperam Saeculare vocant, & ad Horatii annum XLIX referunt; ringente Suetonio, qui tres Carminum libros longo intervallo eum annum praecessisse testatur. Atqui nihil quicquam hic de Saecularibus ludis proditur; sed aut ad Dianae aut Apollinis festum spectat, quorum illud mense Augusto, hoc Julio singulis annis celebrabatur. Eodem pertinet Catulli carmen xxxv, Dianae sumus in fide; quod Saeculare etiam a viris doctis pessime inscribitur; cum nihil ibi de Saeculo habeatur, isque diu diem obierit ante Ludos Augusti Saeculares. Tum & 11, 17, Ad Maecenatem aegrotum, immeni parachronismo ad Horatii annum LV ultra libri quarti tempora ablegant; idque levi & futili argumento, quod eo anno continua insomnia vexari coeperit

youthful Works, there are many things both
 obscene and profane; whereas according as he
 grew in Years, he became better as to his po-
 etical Skill, and chaster as to the Dignity and
 Gravity of his Subject. But if the most learn-
 ed Men go but an Acre without the Bounds
 I have set in assigning these Dates, they will
 most certainly fall into Blunders. It were ea-
 sie for me to shew this in every one of them;
 but I shall content my self with just mention-
 ing one or two, and leave the Reader to do
 with the rest the best he can. The 21st Car-
 men of the first Book, *Dianam tenerae dicite vir-
 gines*, is fassly call'd *Saeculare*, and said to have
 been writ in the 49th Year of *Horace*; for
Suetonius is positive the three Books of the
Curmina appear'd a long time before that Year.
 Nor is there any mention hereof in the *Seem-
 ler* Games; but the Poem relates either to the
 Feast of *Diana*, or that of *Apollo*, the former of
 which was celebrated every Year in *August*, and
 the latter in *July*. *Catullus* has the same view
 in his XXXVth *Carmen*, *Dianae sumus in fide*;
 which is also very foolishly inscrib'd *Carmen Sae-
 culare* by learned Men; whereas there is no
 mention of any such in that Place, and he died
 long before the *Secular* Games, in the Days of
Augustus. Then the *Carm.* II. 17. *Ad Mae-
 cenatam aegrotum*, is, by a very great Mistake in
 Chronology, brought down beyond the Date
 of the IVth Book to the 55th Year of *Horace's*
 Age, and that by a very empty and frivolous
 Reason, viz. Because on that Year, *Maecenas*
 began to be tormented with a perpetual want
 of

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coeperit *Maecenas* triennio ante diem fatalem. Quaesit vero non plus semel in tam longa vita aegrotaverit, quem *Plinius major* VII, 51, perpetua febre ab adolescentia laborasse tradidit. Illud vero in *Sermone* VI, libri 2, Quid, militibus promissa *Triquetra Praedia Caesar*, an est *Itala tellure* daturus? non, ut volunt, ad pugnam *Actiacam* annumque *Flacci* XXXV referendum erat, nec ad *Philippensem* annumve XXIV: quippe de agrorum divisione hic agitur, quae post *Siculam* de *Pompeio* victoriam & *Lepidi* deditionem in *Campania* alibique facta est, anno *Flacci* XXXI, ut disertis verbis narrat *Dio* p. 456, 457, *Plutarchus* *Antonio* p. 941, *Paterculus* II, 81; & *Appianus* p. 1176. Alia omnia pari facilitate refutari possent; sed his fuere & vale.

E I N I S.

of Sleep, which was three Years before his Death: As if he had never been Sick but once during his whole long Life! whereas *Pliny* the elder tells us, *Lib. VII. 15.* That from his Youth he had been afflicted with a continual Fever: But that in *Serm. VI. Lib. 2. Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus?* does not relate to the *Actian* Battel, and the 35th Year of *Horace's* Age, as some would have it, nor to the Battel at *Philippi*, and his 24th Year; for here he is speaking of the Division of the Land, which was made after *Pompey* was beat in *Sicily*, and *Lepidus* was taken Prisoner in *Campania*, in the Year of *Horace* 31, as *Dion* says in so many Words, pag. 456, 457. *Plutarch* in *Anton.* p. 941. *Paterculus*, 11, 81. and *Appian*, p. 1176. I could with the same Ease refute all the Mistakes about the rest; but I hope the Reader will be contented with this Specimen.

The E N D.